In the Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM 1973

No. 73-1406

DANIEL CHAPMAN and JACQUE STOCKMAN,
Appellants,

vs.

BEN MEIER, Secretary of State for the State of North Dakota,
Appellee.

APPELLEE'S BRIEF

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APPELLEE'S BRIEF

STATEMENT

In November of 1971, a 1965 District Court-fashioned reapportionment plan was challenged as being no longer valid under the 14th Amendment to the US Constitution in light of the 1970 census. The Court declared the 1965 plan invalid and fashioned a reapportionment plan which is being challenged by the appellants in this appeal on the contention that the Court-fashioned plan contains multi-member districts and that the variance in population is too great.

The appellants' brief adequately sets forth the opinion below, jurisdiction, questions presented, and statements and it would not serve any useful purpose to recite them again, except the questions presented can be restated as follows:

> "The primary question involved here is whether or not the Court-fashioned plan meets the US Constitutional requirements."

ARGUMENT

Multi-Member Districts

Appellants' brief on page nine seems to emphasize that the state has required single member Senate districts, but completely disregards the fact that the state throughout its history provided for multi-member representatives in the House.

The North Dakota Supreme Court in *State ex rel. Stockman* v. *Anderson*, 184 NW2d 53 made a brief summation of the North Dakota history on this subject and on page 57, specifically recognized that the Senate until 1965 was based on area rather than population. The area prior to 1965 consisted of single or multiple county or subdivisions of counties. No part of one county was adjoined to another. The taking of a portion of an area from one county and adding to another county for the purposes of creating a legislative district was not permitted under the earlier provisions of the North Dakota Constitution. Counties in a sense constituted the basic factor in the creation of legislative districts.

Sections 26, 29 and 35 of the North Dakota Constitution have been declared invalid and unconstitutional. Whether the prior provisions were restored or revived is doubtful even though there is some North Dakota case law which would suggest such a concept. The anti-reviving statute 1-02-16 of the North Dakota Century Code in all probability would have no application here. Even if the provisions were revived, which is doubtful, there is a serious question whether they could meet the constitutional standards under the decisions in *Stockman* v. *Anderson*, 184 NW2d 53.

The recent rejection of the constitutional measure (A-9 motion to affirm) which would have provided for

single member districts constitutes legislative direction by the people and would serve as a basis for an exception to the statement in the case of *Connor* v. *Johnson*, 29 LEd2d 268, 402 US 690. Centainly if the Court in the *Connor* case intended to issue a mandate it would have left out the qualifying terms or provisions, "preferable" and "as a general matter" and would have used terms or language which would have left no doubt.

Under the present plan the multi-member legislative districts will elect Representatives and Senators as follows:

District	Senators	Representatives	Population
5	4	8	47,886
18	4	8	50,244
21	5	10	60,240
29	2	4	23,550
32	3	6	35,595

From this it can be seen that the multi-member districts will be able to elect only 18 Senators out of 51, and 36 Representatives out of 102 which equals 35.29%.

There is no evidence in the record which would suggest a need for the creation of single member districts because of any groups or individuals which have or are entitled to special constitutional recognition. In this respect the record is completely void of any reason why single member districts should have been created.

The appellants' only ground or basis for claiming that single member districts should have been created is based on the *Connor* v. *Johnson* decision, but because of the historical background and the rejection of the single member district concept, we believe the lower court was justified in continuing the use of multi-member legislative districts.

Variance in Population

As to population the Supreme Court in *Gaffney* v. *Cummings*, 37 LEd2d 298 contains a very enlightening discussion relating to the census figures and its relation to the weight of a person's vote. The census taking process merely establishes the location of a person at a specific time but it does not nor does it attempt to establish where such persons will vote. It's common knowledge that people do not always vote in the same place where they are located for the purposes of census enumeration. We are satisfied the Court was aware that many persons are located in Burleigh County at the seat of the government in North Dakota and are counted for Burleigh County in the census, but a large number of such persons retain their voting or legal residence in "their home county or precinct". Similarly students attending institutions of higher learning can be located at the school for census purposes whereas in reality many of these students, 18 years or more, vote at the precinct where their parents live and not at the precinct where the school is located.

The constant shifting of population coupled with change in residence sequences for voting purposes (now 30 days in North Dakota for precincts, county and state whereas before it was one year in state, 90 days in county and 30 days in precinct), it is safe to assume that many persons change voting residence more frequently and in greater numbers.

In the final analysis population figures serve only as a basis on which one can make a mere educated guess as where a person might vote which is a critical item in our representative form of government. However, the census data does not provide this information.

North Dakota does not use block voting and any elector in the general election may vote for a candidate of any

party. He may vote for as many candidates as there are positions to be filled.

The trend of the population discloses a decrease and a shift from the rural to urban areas as evidenced by the compilation of census data by the Secretary of State in appendix, page 12, of this brief. Pembina County District 11, is an area which is somewhat different from other areas in the state because of missile base activity which has brought additional persons into that area.

In District 11 (Pembina County) the city of Cavalier grew from 1,381-1970 to 2,433-November 13, 1972, a difference of plus 1,052. The city of Walhalla grew from 1,470 in 1970 to 1,636-October, 1973, a difference of plus 166. District 11 thus had a gain of 1,218 from 1970 to October, 1973, which would reduce the variance to less than two percent (see appendix, pages 9 and 12 of this brief).

In District 16 (part of Walsh) the city of Park River (Walsh County) grew from 1,680 in 1970 to 2,056-June, 1972—a difference of plus 376 which would reduce the variance to 4.4 (see appendix, pages 11 and 12 of this brief).

In District 19 (rural Grand Forks County) the city of Emerado grew from 515 in 1970 to 864—a difference of plus 349 which would reduce the variance to 7.4 (see appendix, page 10, of this brief). District 4 (Burke and Mountrail Counties) has had a decline in population. Burke County went from a high of 9,988 in 1930 to a low of 4,739 in 1970. Mountrail has a different pattern. It went from a high of 13,544 in 1930 down to 9,418 in 1950 up to 10,077 in 1960 with a drop in 1970 to 8,437, the current population (see appendix, page 12, of this brief). We do not have any later figures on other districts.

The growth for Districts 11, 16 and 19 covers only a period of three years at the most. It can be validly argued

that the population increase as of now would be greater and will be substantially greater toward the end of this decennial.

The judges of the District Court as well as the masters could have and in all probability did take judicial notice of the population shift and to a degree made allowances for such shifts.

Keeping in mind the constant shift in population, it suggests that it would be somewhat unrealistic to blindly adhere to precise population distribution among the districts when it is known that such population in reality is no longer accurate or representative.

We are presently approaching the mid term of the decennial census which should clearly advise us that no matter what type of plan adopted now would no longer reflect the current situation where the census figures for 1970 are used.

The appellants reside in District 21 and 32. Neither of these districts are under-represented which raises the serious question whether or not they have any standing to challenge the plan fashioned by the court. They may have a valid standing on question of single or multi-member districts. But the same reason would not apply to the population variance in the districts.

The State of North Dakota has a constitutional provision, Section 25, which will permit the electorate to initiate legislation to reapportion the legislature or for that matter to submit constitutional measures as to how it should be accomplished. This is the procedure which should be followed rather than burden the courts.

CONCLUSION

Finally taking into account the many ingredients which go into the representative form of government, the reapportionment plan fashioned by the Court meets the constitutional requirements and should be affirmed.

ALLEN I. OLSON
Attorney General

PAUL M. SAND
First Assistant Attorney General
Attorneys for Appellee

APPENDIX 1

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Social and Economic Statistics Administration
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

DEC 11 1972

According to the official count of the returns of the Special Census, the population of the City of Cavalier, Pembina County, North Dakota was 2,433 as of November 13, 1972.

ROBERT L. HAGAN
Deputy Director
Bureau of the Census

APPENDIX 2

PRESIDENT
GEORGE HAFTAN MAYOR LANGDON

NORTH DAKOTA LEAGUE OF CITIES
Box 578
BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA 58501

ARNE BOYUM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PHONE 701 223 2518

July 23, 1974

Mr. Paul Sand
Assistant Attorney General
Capitol Building
Bismarck, ND 58501

Dear Mr. Sand,

Other than Cavalier, the only city in Pembina County which has something close to a documented population census is the City of Walhalla. The mayor had the city auditor do a census in October of 1973. The census was taken after the AFB activity had shut down for the year giving them something of a permanent population figure. The population of Walhalla at that time was 1636.

Mayor Leon DuBourt gave the above figure to me as the count arrived at by the city auditor.

Sincerely,

Arne Boyum
Executive Director
North Dakota League of Cities

APPENDIX 3

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

JUN 9 1971

According to the official count of the returns of the NINETEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES, on file in the Bureau of the Census, the population of Michigan City, Nelson County, North Dakota was 478 as of April 1, 1970.

CONRAD TAEUBER
Associate Director
Bureau of the Census

APPENDIX 4

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

NOV 29 1971

According to the official count of the returns of the Special Census, the population of the City of Grand Forks, Grand Forks County, North Dakota was 40,060 as of October 7, 1971.

CONRAD TAEUBER
Associate Director
Bureau of the Census

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

DEC 3 1971

According to the official count of the returns of the Special Census, the population of the City of Emerado, Grand Forks County, North Dakota was 864 as of December 7, 1971.

CONRAD TAEUBER
Associate Director
Bureau of the Census

APPENDIX 5

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Social and Economic Statistics Administration
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

JUL 26 1972

According to the official count of the returns of the Special Census, the population of the city of Park River, Walsh County, North Dakota was 2,056 as of June 19, 1972.

CONRAD TAEUBER
Associate Director
Bureau of the Census

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

SEP 24 1971

According to the official count of the returns of the Special Census, the population of Lakota, Nelson County, North Dakota was 1,144 as of August 3, 1971.

CONRAD TAEUBER
Associate Director
Bureau of the Census

POPULATION—NORTH DAKOTA

City, Town or Village (Incorporated)	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910
Newburg	120	158	166	119	67	110	162
New England	896	1,080	1,117	996	911	62	...
New Leipzig	354	330	447	366	443	378	...
New Rockford	1,900	2,177	2,185	2,017	2,195	2,111	...
New Salem	943	998	942	875	804	711	621
New Town	1,428	1,588	...	...	...	...	...
Niagara	110	157	163	178	207	199	157
Nome	108	146	217	277	218	267	218
Noonan	1,000	625	551	503	428	376	183
Northwood	1,149	1,195	1,183	1,042	971	745	769
Oakes	1,742	1,650	1,776	1,665	1,799	1,627	1,499
Oberon	151	248	238	...	...	...	...
Omemee	9	14	60	122	170	222	232
Oriska	128	148	135	217	183	200	...
Osnabrock	250	289	294	289	244	310	262
Overly	28	60	90	125	154	198	182
Page	367	422	462	428	443	452	479
Palermo	146	193	150	178	205	179	177
Park River	1,880	1,873	1,682	1,608	1,131	1,114	1,008
Parshall	1,246	1,210	935	870	470	376	...
Peeklo	520	580	621	529	510	497	...
Pembina	741	625	640	702	551	602	717
Perth	44	72	124	145	153	315	221
Petersburg	266	272	216	246	310	267	252
Pettibone	173	226	...	...	...	...	...
Pick City	110	101	294	...	...	...	...
Pillsbury	80	76	119	161	260	142	...
Pingree	78	151	161	147	256	256	...
Plaok	154	176	215	223	225	290	212
Plaza	791	895	880	840	698	845	726
Portal	251	351	409	499	512	545	491
Portland	524	498	641	661	500	423	56.
Powers Lake	523	623	565	466	362	261	...
Rawson	10	26	32	72	66	...	...
Ray	776	1,049	721	679	621	568	456
Reeder	306	321	339	362	296	256	188
Regan	74	160	139	149	162	202	...
Regent	364	396	405	440	309	262	...
Reynolds	298	369	385	315	351	289	412
Rhame	208	284	340	293	356	302	...
Richardton	790	782	731	688	710	688	647
Rivordale	...	1,805	...	...	...	...	...
Robinson	125	155	166	160	185	...	...
Rock Lake	370	350	385	348	379	238	194
Rogers	90	119	150	174	169	172	...
Rolette	679	719	650	660	625	600	488
Rolla	1,502	1,398	1,176	1,098	922	670	687
Rose	38	167	...	...	...	...	...
Rugby	2,898	2,972	2,907	2,916	1,612	1,454	1,420
Ruso	15	21	27	65	104	120	141
Russell	14	22	61	70	94	119	161
Rutland	225	288	269	306	264	291	224
Ryder	211	264	280	487	457	482	328
St. John	287	426	452	517	373	460	424
St. Thomas	508	640	566	602	503	480	513
Sanborn	258	262	324	366	342	391	390
Sanish	75	62	607	455	463	237	...
Sarles	144	235	265	308	283	248	246
Sawyer	273	290	264	271	283	240	240
Scranton	300	358	360	377	381	353	314
Selfridge	146	171	242	329	353	153	...
Sentinel Butte	128	140	173	206	213	182	...
Sharon	201	251	312	356	319	288	...
Sheldon	193	221	267	281	327	321	294
Sherwood	269	340	421	390	456	423	333
Sheyenne	242	423	469	451	417	...	...
Sibley	38	33	...	...	...	...	...
Solen	156	...	...	...	...	...	...
Souris	150	213	256	359	345	348	287
South Heart	132	...	...	...	...	...	...
So. West Fargo	...	2,338	1,632	707	...	...	...
Springbrook	27	28	51	77	106	93	...
Stanley	1,561	1,726	1,486	1,056	936	691	618
Stanton	217	265	271	270	268	225	...
Starkweather	193	223	239	256	258	225	246
Steele	698	847	758	731	618	550	600
Strasburg	662	617	723	924	695	653	573
Streeter	326	317	403	447	711	640	...
Surrey	342	388	...	...	...	...	...
Sykeston	233	326	272	273	227	287	276
Tagus	14	72	101	140	126	132	105
Tappen	296	324	370	323	263	182	...

POPULATION—NORTH DAKOTA

City, Town or Village (Incorporated)	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910
Taylor	142	215	256	251	263	295	...
Thompson	791	811	879	276	278	...	...
Thorne	...	...	...	37	45	38	78
Tioga	1,667	2,087	456	245	435	220	205
Tolley	142	189	246	177	225	225	220
Tolna	247	291	281	172	174	199	209
Tower City	268	340	392	364	435	447	452
Towner	870	856	919	916	622	610	691
Turtle Lake	722	782	839	632	576	595	...
Tuttle	238	255	268	257	283	321	...
Underwood	781	819	1,061	612	455	452	422
Upham	272	322	405	245	257	196	208
Valley City	7,542	7,809	6,851	5,917	5,268	4,691	4,466
Van Hook	...	...	280	329	373	331	...
Velva	1,341	1,320	1,174	1,017	870	856	857
Venturia	77	145	190	257	233	201	...
Verona	140	162	189	201	227	259	235
Voltaire	94	70	72	101	61	...	...
Wabek	...	14	18	38	46	40	...
Wahpeton	7,058	5,876	5,125	3,747	3,178	3,069	2,467
Wales	126	151	235	...	...	...	...
Walhalla	1,471	1,432	1,463	1,126	760	654	592
Warwick	189	204	165	224	249	290	...
Washburn	804	993	913	961	753	558	657
Watford City	1,768	1,865	1,371	1,073	769	260	...
Werner	21	59	62	127	213	198	...
West Fargo	5,961	93	159	117	...	...	...
West Fargo Industrial Park	104	...	...	...	...	...	...
Westhope	705	824	575	460	521	439	592
Wheelock	21	32	101	94	115	...	...
White Earth	126	268	218	272	240	247	204
Wildrose	235	261	270	272	316	442	...
Williston	13,280	11,866	7,378	5,790	5,106	4,178	3,124
Willow City	402	434	595	524	577	559	622
Wilton	696	739	790	851	1,001	1,026	687
Wimbledon	237	402	446	357	421	521	577
Wing	223	303	312	235	237	...	...
Wishek	1,370	1,390	1,241	1,112	1,146	1,003	492
Woburn	...	...	17	19	...	...	...
Wolford	81	126	140	...	...	...	...
Woodworth	179	221	207	145	261	287	...
Wyndmere	516	644	627	499	521	170	439
York	102	148	...	...	...	...	...
Zap	271	329	425	574	406	257	...
Zeeland	313	417	484	489	419	323	199

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Issued By
BEN MEIER
Secretary of State
Bismarck, N. D.

NORTH DAKOTA
POPULATION
Federal Census
1910 - 1970

COUNTY	Population 1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910
Adams	2,832	4,462	4,910	4,664	4,342	3,592	497
Barnes	14,669	16,719	16,884	17,814	16,804	15,678	15,745
Benson	8,268	9,438	10,675	12,689	13,327	12,980	12,681
Billings	1,198	1,513	...	...	...	...	*10,186
Bottineau	9,696	11,316	12,140	13,253	14,863	15,109	17,295
Bowman	3,901	4,154	4,661	5,860	5,119	4,763	4,864
Burke	4,730	5,886	6,621	7,653	8,998	9,511	9,064
Burleigh	49,714	34,016	25,672	22,120	19,769	15,578	13,667
Cass	72,652	66,947	58,877	62,869	48,725	41,077	32,935
Cavalier	8,213	10,064	11,840	13,923	14,584	13,685	15,689
Dickey	6,978	8,147	9,121	9,696	10,977	10,499	9,838
Divide	4,564	5,048	5,847	7,988	9,826	9,837	8,015
Dunn	4,585	5,210	6,213	8,176	9,736	9,227	6,980
Eddy	4,103	4,936	5,373	5,741	6,346	6,489	5,800
Emmons	7,298	8,463	9,715	11,699	12,467	11,382	9,796
Foster	6,532	7,351	7,897	9,834	8,853	6,108	5,818
Golden Valley	2,611	2,100	3,479	4,122	4,122	4,122	...
Grand Forks	61,102	48,677	39,443	34,518	31,956	28,795	27,826
Grant	3,909	6,248	7,114	9,264	10,134	9,868	...
Griggs	4,114	5,022	5,466	5,819	6,889	7,403	6,274
Hettinger	8,075	6,317	7,100	7,457	8,796	7,858	6,567
Kidder	4,362	5,286	6,168	6,792	8,031	7,798	5,962
LaMoure	7,117	8,705	9,495	10,278	11,517	11,564	10,724
Logan	4,243	5,269	6,257	7,545	8,089	7,723	6,165
McHenry	8,977	11,099	12,556	14,084	15,457	15,554	14,858
McIntosh	5,345	6,702	7,590	8,986	9,621	9,010	7,351
McKenzie	6,127	7,256	6,849	6,626	9,769	9,546	5,720
McLean	11,751	14,020	14,574	16,082	17,921	17,704	15,286
Mercer	6,175	4,806	5,656	5,611	9,516	8,254	14,496
Morton	20,310	20,992	19,295	20,186	19,647	16,714	15,286
Mountrail	8,437	10,077	9,418	10,492	13,544	12,160	8,491
Nelson	5,776	7,524	8,090	9,129	10,262	10,562	10,020
Oliver	2,322	2,610	2,091	3,859	4,262	4,425	3,577
Pembina	10,778	12,946	12,990	15,671	14,757	15,177	14,749
Pierce	6,223	7,394	8,196	9,208	9,074	9,262	9,765
Ramsey	12,915	13,443	14,373	15,626	16,252	15,427	15,189
Ransom	7,588	8,078	8,876	10,061	10,983	11,618	10,347
Renville	3,676	4,498	5,405	5,838	7,262	7,778	7,440
Richland	16,090	18,824	19,565	20,514	21,008	20,887	19,659
Rolette	11,549	10,641	11,102	12,583	10,760	10,581	9,558
Sargent	6,937	6,956	7,616	9,693	9,788	9,685	9,207
Sheridan	3,232	4,260	5,253	6,616	7,373	7,935	8,103
Sioux	3,652	4,045	3,896	4,479	4,487	3,328	...
Slope	1,044	1,893	2,315	2,932	4,160	4,940	...
Stark	19,613	18,651	16,137	15,414	15,340	13,542	12,504
Steele	2,749	4,719	5,146	6,193	6,972	7,401	7,616
Stutsman	21,100	23,137	24,158	27,696	26,160	24,579	18,189
Towner	4,645	6,526	8,360	7,200	8,393	8,377	6,965
Traill	8,371	10,583	11,359	12,300	12,600	12,316	12,545
Walsh	16,284	17,598	18,859	20,747	20,067	19,078	19,491
Ward	30,560	47,073	34,782	31,801	33,197	28,811	25,351
Wells	7,347	9,237	10,417	11,198	13,745	12,957	11,814
Williams	19,301	22,651	16,442	16,315	19,553	17,980	14,234
State Total	617,761	632,446	619,636	641,935	680,845	646,872	577,056

*Includes present Golden Valley and Slope Counties still a part of Billings County in 1910.

"Buy North Dakota Products"

POPULATION—NORTH DAKOTA

City, Town or Village (Incorporated)	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910
Abercrombie	262	344	344	315	342	256	299
Adams	284	342	431	351	345	404	388
Alamo	124	182	193	216	211	...	...
Alexander	268	289	308	416	388	...	...
Alice	83	124	162	181	169	...	...
Almont	108	190	190	154	...	...	...
Alsen	201	238	134	213	262	...	...
Ambrose	109	239	286	294	324	289	230
Amenia	80	117	127	106	90	...	...
Amidon	9	24	32	62	91	146	...
Anamoose	401	498	542	478	491	448	465
Anets	276	451	469	509	458	448	454
Antler	113	210	217	219	210	188	177
Ardoch	79	106	137	119	130	153	171
Argusville	118	138	136	146	116	...	...
Arnegard	161	228	206	228	254	...	...
Arthur	312	339	346	368	388	...	...
Ashley	1,236	1,419	1,422	1,245	1,023	1,000	632
Ayr	45	81	104	107	108	...	...
Balfour	93	168	182	183	197	222	250
Balta	78	108	102	98	...	...	...
Bantry	60	68	138	144	...	...	...
Barney	32	118	...	...	...	...	...
Bartlett	19	30	61	78	67	88	138
Batton	34	88	102	167	170	158	228
Baiguate	316	276	269	312	292	262	328
Beach	1,406	1,460	1,461	1,178	1,267	1,196	1,065
Belfield	1,124	1,054	1,006	1,078	853	826	...
Benedict	72	129	127	167	145	196	...
Bergen	24	52	51	67	98	...	...
Berlin	74	79	134	132	135	150	137
Berthold	294	431	470	426	511	455	454
Berwick	33	52	71	92	...	...	...
Beulah	1,319	1,318	1,501	942	913	662	...
Big Bend	...	25	207	...	...	...	...
Binford	242	261	299	311	317	288	276
Bisbee	206	255	265	288	311	288	268
Bismarck	34,703	27,670	18,640	15,696	11,090	7,122	5,443
Bottineau	2,676	2,847	2,965	2,727	2,895	2,172	1,831
Bowdle	584	687	806	787	895	1,021	982
Bowdon	229	259	348	348	303	306	282
Bowman	1,761	1,720	1,982	967	893	767	487
Braddock	115	84	132	168	214	240	196
Brimemade	76	110	134	206	199	191	262
Brocket	90	168	218	251	274	248	196
Bucyrus	51	89	111	117	124	118	...
Buffalo	242	278	281	317	343	349	341
Burlington	147	161	152	148	...	...	...
Butte	142	207	272	261	231	...	...
Buxton	442	557	598	648	643	619	...
Callo	20	101	102	98	112	132	...
Calvin	76	104	152	...	...	...	...
Cando	1,102	1,566	1,570	1,262	1,164	1,151	1,322
Canton	76	101	102	98	112	101	116
Carpio	233	199	194	222	194	244	257
Carrington	2,301	2,438	2,161	1,850	1,717	1,470	1,317
Carson	316	307	493	473	356	276	...
Casselton	1,774	1,574	1,543	1,352	1,253	1,029	1,552
Cathay	196	170	208	189	215	185	225
Cavalier	1,477	1,423	1,469	1,305	850	819	852
Cayuga	126	192	178	196	219	192	178
Center	1,035	876	695	599	590	...	154
Churchs Ferry	339	361	323	344	335	353	457
Cleveland	175	169	191	246	272	241	...
Clifford	48	50	58	...	...	...	...
Cogwell	292	305	297	78	434	466	419
Colehrbor	211	210	215	...	...	...	...
Colfax	39	98	...	...	...	...	...
Columbus	463	552	525	506	516	78	226
Conway	67	67	107	126	100	67	154
Cooperstown	1,685	1,476	1,169	1,077	1,053	1	1,019
Courtenay	1	146	229	297	266	240	535
Cory	156	196	235	267	270	267	278
Crocus	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Crosby	1,965	1,759	1,689	1,404	1,271	1,147	866
Crystal	372	372	429	498	514	369	276
Davenport	181	208	220	243	261	214	186
Dawson	114	286	280	263	264	263	214
Deering	328	326	196	216	351	293	246
Denhoff	75	115	128	140	202	142	150
Devils Lake	7,964	8,399	6,427	6,294	5,519	5,110	5,167

POPULATION—NORTH DAKOTA

City, Town or Village (Incorporated)	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910
Dickey	118	143	165	203	166	190	187
Dickinson	12,005	9,971	7,459	5,839	5,025	4,122	3,678
Dodge	123	226	251	234	204	172	...
Dogden	...	...	...	...	...	202	220
Donnybrook	163	196	207	215	259	247	207
Douglas	114	210	236	213	288	284	173
Drake	626	752	821	654	644	517	349
Drayton	1,005	940	875	688	602	627	547
Dunn Center	107	220	246	238	276	217	...
Dunseith	811	1,017	715	719	484	374	478
Dwight	93	101	129	168	164	132	...
East Fairview	...	...	...	...	165	178	...
Eckman	9	5	45	66	79	64	64
Edgeley	885	893	943	803	821	802	806
Edinburg	305	348	376	384	374	378	366
Edmore	398	405	468	458	396	501	344
Egeland	96	190	248	276	233	306	288
Elgin	826	944	883	883	865	829	...
Ellendale	1,517	1,806	1,769	1,817	1,564	1,324	1,289
Elliot	50	62	87	118	108	...	...
Emerado	315	328	...	...	...	...	...
Enderlin	1,263	1,596	1,504	1,593	1,832	1,919	1,540
Epping	190	151	158	144	183	136	...
Esmond	416	420	475	443	315	313	288
Fairdale	102	128	131	187	171	192	140
Fairmount	812	803	660	706	611	706	287
Fargo	48,668	39,965	34,256	32,580	28,619	21,961	14,331
Fessenden	935	930	917	902	739	761	718
Fingal	166	198	210	200	224	...	...
Finley	569	588	671	677	667	699	616
Flasher	367	415	413	387	368	346	...
Flaxton	256	275	438	362	423	374	291
Forbes	38	139	204	265	265	293	221
Fordville	301	367	376	439	442	320	...
Forest River	161	191	207	196	196	206	228
Forman	598	630	466	560	396	402	353
Fort Clark	...	...	...	...	...	66	...
Fort Yates	1,152	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fortuna	216	185	181	214	196	198	...
Fredonia	109	141	268	209	394	256	...
Fullerton	110	181	206	184	206	202	206
Gackle	470	523	606	587	493	424	...
Galesburg	316	352	419	...	...	...	...
Gardena	92	119	116	125	120	99	119
Gardner	96	107	138	103	108	...	...
Garrison	1,011	1,794	1,990	1,117	1,024	714	406
Gascoyne	28	30	76	45	97	60	...
Gaby	250	281	...	...	...	...	...
Gladstone	102	185	224	278	...	...	...
Glenburn	283	263	281	190	263	228	269
Glenfield	127	178	...	...	...	...	...
Glen Ullin	1,057	1,210	1,324	976	960	875	921
Golden Valley	203	208	239	406	294	369	...
Gorva	108	162	174	...	...	...	...
Goodrich	200	202	416	476	465	476	419
Grafton	5,588	5,588	4,901	4,070	3,156	2,512	2,229
Grand Forks Air Force Base	10,473	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Forks	39,481	36,826	30,228	27,112	24,016	12,475	...
Grandin	167	156	156	172	...	...	...
Grano	14	27	57	...	112	...	...
Granville	496	484	443	456	284	456	...
Great Bend	144	168	198	149	142	197	...
Gregory	644	525	426	487	350	...	...
Gwinner	1,442	197	...	...	...	...	...
Hague	197	328	443	364	315	183	...
Halliday	509	477	395	305	289	...	...
Hamberg	158	174	194	197	...	...	...
Hamilton	194	217	241	255	151	206	213
Hampden	71	203	187	222	199	...	...
Hankinson	1,321	1,295	1,403	1,439	1,405	1,477	1,508
Hanks	63	115	192	213	...	...	...
Hannaford	316	377	319	405	455	481	340
Hannah	253	258	217	261	242	...	...
Hansboro	67	143	154	97	178	218	...
Harvey	2,268	2,287	1,8	2,157	1,890	1,520	1,443
Harlem	606	581	9	804	626	648	648
Havana	206	267	3,6	371	319	387	...
Haynes	111	165	219	167	132	...	...
Hazelton	454	453	540	448	382	...	...
Hazen	1,733	1,570	642	655	550	...	...
Hebron	1,360	1,412	1,267	1,168	1,376	687	...
Hettinger	1,769	1,762	1,188	1,793	817	746	...

POPULATION—NORTH DAKOTA

City, Town or Village (Incorporated)	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910
Hillsboro	1,389	1,278	1,231	1,238	1,217	1,183	1,237
Hoople	320	326	447	346	326	280	176
Hope	264	296	470	474	585	699	909
Horace	778	178	190	...	...	...	...
Hunter	362	446	417	414	406	484	366
Hurdsfield	139	183	253	258	226	...	...
Inkster	199	282	304	310	357	368	352
Jamestown	18,295	16,280	10,897	8,750	8,187	6,627	4,358
Jud	110	156	176	202	140	178	99
Karlsruhe	172	221	282	288	358	...	...
Kathryn	109	162	209	229	274	288	...
Kenmare	1,807	1,662	1,218	1,578	1,494	1,444	1,427
Kensal	263	324	376	316	420	415	456
Kermit	...	...	...	23	26	37	106
Kief	45	87	186	159	139	207	...
Killdeer	615	776	698	650	492	532	...
Kindred	495	580	504	456	479	534	...
Knox	104	152	190	189	177	173	230
Kramer	125	178	198	220	190	172	183
Kulm	320	364	397	384	340	326	646
Lakota	1,144	1,066	1,032	987	880	859	1,052
LaMoure	981	1,068	1,010	990	899	1,014	929
Landa	81	110	122	149	160	...	...
Langdon	3,823	3,112	1,921	1,474	1,221	1,228	1,214
Lankin	221	203	287	288	267	324	241
Lansford	298	352	352	300	353	337	456
Larimore	1,499	1,714	1,574	1,322	979	1,049	1,224
Larson	35	62	64	79	89	114	...
Lawton	123	159	211	210	208	227	...
Leal	41	70	72	102	105	88	...
Leeds	626	797	778	782	725	704	662
Lehr	257	351	364	350	350	362	182
Lidgate	92	100	140	166	174	162	...
Leonard	221	232	...	...	...	...	...
Lidgerwood	1,090	1,081	1,147	1,042	1,029	1,065	1,019
Lignite	234	255	277	259	214	230	...
Linton	1,695	1,826	1,675	1,602	1,782	1,811	644
Lisbon	2,009	2,093	2,681	1,997	1,650	1,855	1,768
Litchville	294	345	408	430	410	528	484
Loma	45	20	52	56	216	192	...
Loraine	33	54	70	74	72	74	...
Ludden	44	58	96	150	144	182	133
Luverne	94	109	154	187	177	225	...
McClusky	690	851	859	826	719	646	517
McHenry	152	155	160	240	218	279	288
McVille	565	561	626	548	513	548	310
Maddock	598	742	714	691	631	557	876
Makoti	1,109	974	819	812	876	...	...
Mandan	11,092	10,525	7,329	6,685	5,937	4,336	3,973
Mantador	95	98	128	...	...	...	...
Manvel	265	213	278	288	243	...	...
Mapleton	279	180	169	180	195	198	207
Marion	215	209	273	242	258	258	241
Marmarth	267	318	469	626	781	1,318	790
Marion	129	148	171	228	211	...	...
Max	361	410	465	423	500	472	288
Maxbass	218	218	253	215	217	147	240
Mayville	2,254	2,168	1,790	1,351	1,199	1,218	1,070
Maza	20	31	32	46	78	...